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ABSTRACT

This report analyzes discrimination experienced by overseas Indians in the United States, concentrating on those Indians who are listed in biographical dictionaries. Discrimination is reported to exist especially in administrative positions. Despite this, it is concluded that most Indians in the United States, perhaps because of their awareness of the role of caste in India, reject the idea of a protected class status for their group in this country. (WP)

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# ORIENTATIONS OF OVERSEAS INDIANS TOWARD DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY : PRELIMINARY FINDINGS FROM A SURVEY RESEARCH*

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ABSTRACT

In Srping 1977, a purposive sample of Overseas Indians in the United States were surveyed by using mail questionnaire. The omnibus questionnaire, utilized in the study, included questions on their experience in discrimination in different situations in the United States.

A total of 212 usable questionnaires were tabulated. The data reports that a minority of the respondents had experienced discriminations, in joining social groups, getting jobs, renting, home buying, starting business practices, joining institutions of higher education and in organizing religious ceremonies.

An analysis of the correlates of discrimination related experiences revealed, interesting independent variables associated with different discriminating situations. A further analysis, indicated that a minority of the respondents wanted protected class status. Such orientations, however, widely vary among different types of groups.

## INTRODUCTION

The Historians have produced a large body of literature about American immigrants and immigration.[1] Literary writers have also generalized a voluminous literature about the immigrants.[2] Social Scientists have also been engaged in studies about the immigration policy and the immigrants.[3] Among the Social Scientist, Sociologists and Anthropologists have made the most significant contribution to the available literature about the immigrant.[4] It is the purpose of this paper to present some empirical findings about a small but significant group of new immigrants in the United States. We will designate them as "Overseas Indians" - the people who have migrated to the United States from the Republic of India.

The Indians have migrated overseas for a long time and the literature on Overseas Indians is massive.[5] In the United States they have been known as the "East Indians" for the last hundred years or so.[6] The post-war Britain has utilized the term "Asian Indians" to include Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.[7] There is a growing body of Social Science literature about these "Asian Indians" in the United Kingdom.[8] There are some studies about the Indians in Fiji, Mauritius, Guyan, East Indies and elsewhere.[9]

A variety reasons suggest that the recent Indian immigrants to the United States have certain characteristic features that deserve a special analytical perspective.[10] The early "East Indians" in the United States primarily came to Canada as railroad workers who descended southward. Most of them were not knowledgeable in English or with the cultural traits of the American society. This primarily explained some American

hostility toward "Hindus invasion."[11] Some other early East Indians who have settled in the California communities have primarily taken farming as an occupation.[12] Most new immigrants from India, however, are professionals and their families.[13] Some of these people came to the United States as graduate students and changed their status to that of an immigrant. Others came to Canada and migrated to the states. However, a bulk of these people are professionals who came directly from India as immigrants. In the case of some people the immigrant status came as a consequence of marriage to an American resident or citizen.[14] It is a highly educated group of Indian professionals. Very little systematic information is available about this group.[15] Professor Bruce L. Brack has prepared an extensive bibliography on Overseas Indians in the United States.[16] Some of the studies included in this bibliography refer to historical discrimination against the Overseas Indians.[17] Such studies seal with the conditions of the early Indian immigrants and their difficulties in coming to terms with the host society.[18] Also, there is an extensive documentation of American attitudes toward the East Indians, as expressed in popular press and racist literature.[19] The views of the Indians have also been documented books, pamphlets and ethnic press.[20]

## II

## THEORETICAL CONCERNS

Three major theoretical concerns have provided the bases for empirical analysis reported in this paper.[21] First, relates to a typology of discrimination experienced by the Overseas Indians in the United States. Second, in valves explanatory correlates of such experiences by the

Indians. It seems important to pay attention to a typology of discrimination.[21] Discrimination against ethnic groups may take a variety of forms. Individuals may be denied housing facilities. Social groups may discriminate against individuals by denying them memberships in their organizations. Another common form of discrimination is refusal of jobs to ethnics. It may also involve harassment of ethnic groups who want to perform religion rites. Temples or such other places of worship may be vandalized. Thus there may be a variety of situations where discrimination maybe practiced. This necessitates the typological analysis of discriminating situations. Keeping this objective in perspective this study has attempted a typological analysis of the situations where the Indians have experienced discrimination.

Secondly, the correlates of discrimination seems a logical follow-up of the typological analysis described above.[22] The fact that all people do not discriminate against all Indians under all situations suggests the need to search for explanatory correlates. Some of these correlates may be related to the variations in American political culture. Studies have suggested wide variations in racial attitudes in the United States. The racial attitudes have been explained in terms of political socialized, regional origin, education, ethnicity and a lot of other variables. In the case of the present study, we have focused our attention on the variables associated with the Overseas Indians. So, we are not trying completely to explain the presence or absence of discrimination. We are merely trying to describe which types of Overseas Indians have more frequently expand discrimination in American and under what conditions. With these twin conceptual objectives in mind, we shall proceed to the empirical dimensions of this paper.

Finally, another theoretical concern of this work is to explore the orientations of the Overseas Indians Community in the United States toward protected class status. Given their awareness of the protective measures in the Indian System for Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste it seems highly interesting to pursue this question. How do these people look at this concept of a protected class status for themselves? It is obviously true that most Indians in the United States are from higher caste origin and probably a significant percentage come from the highest Indian Caste Brahmin. How do they perceive the situation when they would be classified as a protected class? Perhaps their higher social origin would militate against such an idea!

## III

## RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND DATA BASE

The operationalized objective of this empirical research center around the following questions:

(1) What sort of discriminatory situations are experienced by the Overseas Indians in the United States today?

(2) What sort of Indians tend to experience discrimination more often in different situations?

(3) How do the Overseas Indians feel about a protected class status in the USA?

The East Indian Community in the United States is widely scattered. There are some metropolitan areas with a sizeable Indian population. In the absence of adequate resource a representative sample of the Indian immigrants could not be included in this study. It was decided to include

Indians who are listed in the biographical directories.[23] In all 1129 persons were purposively selected for inclusion in a mail survey.[24] As a consequence of two mailings a total of 212 usable questionnaires were received. All survey data utilized in this paper is limited to this survey of 212 respondents.

## IV

## OVERSEAS INDIANS: A SOCIAL PROFILE

The Table No. 1 provides a general profile of the survey respondents. The occupational distribution of the respondents indicates a slight over-representation of the academics in this group. This may be due to response bias in a mail survey of this nature. In any case, the professional composition of the group as a whole is clearly indicated by the occupation distribution of this group.

The family size data is indicative of the smallness of the families of the group as a whole nearly 90% of the group has less than three members in their families. This should be viewed in some contrast with traditional Indian families.

The age distribution indicates about one half of the respondents were between the ages 31 to 40 and the remaining were distributed among the other age group. The group as a whole is overwhelmingly male and is understandable in the light of sample frame. A surprising indicator in this data is about home ownership. Over 63% of the respondents were home owners. The income distribution is also equally impressive. About a half of the entire group had a total family income of over $25,000 per year in 1976.

The educational background before entering the United States indicates that 95% of these immigrants had held college degrees before leaving India. About a third of the group had earned an American doctorate.

Two interesting political indicators about this group is about their favorite American and Indian political parties. A great majority of the group (60%) view the Democratic party with favoring the proportion of support for the Republican is as low as 10%. As regards their favorite Indian party, Congress continues to have a higher level of support (27%) compared to Janata (19%).[25] It is surprising to note that as many as 44% indicated no favorite party. This is particularly surprising in the light of the data that only about 25% indicated no favorite American Party.

On the whole, the group as a whole projects a very different image than that of the population of India. This might raise interesting theoretical questions about what sort of people migrate? They probably significantly differ from the general population.[26]

TABLE NO. 1

THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS: A GENERAL PROFILE

(N = 212)

| OCCUPATION | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| Academic | 25.7% |
| Engineer | 16.8% |
| Doctor/Dentist/Veterinarian | 20.6% |
| Scientific Worker | 8.9% |
| Businessman | 6.1% |
| Teacher | 4.7% |
| Manager/Executive | 4.7% |
| Other Occupation | 6.5% |
| Missing Data | 6.1% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |

TABLE NO. 1 CONT'D

| FAMILY SIZE | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| Single | 7.9% |
| Two | 9.3% |
| 3-5 | 67.3% |
| Over 5 | 8.5% |
| Missing Data | 7.0% |
| **AGE DISTRIBUTION** | |
| Under 25 | 0.5% |
| 25-30 | 7.5% |
| 31-35 | 19.2% |
| 36-40 | 29.9% |
| 41-45 | 17.3% |
| 46-50 | 8.9% |
| 51-60 | 7.5% |
| 60+ | 2.3% |
| Missing Data | 7.0% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |
| **SEX** | |
| Male | 88.3% |
| Female | 5.1% |
| Missing Data | 6.6% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |
| **CASTE ORIGIN** | |
| Brahmin | 20.8% |
| Non-Brahmin | 54.7% |
| Non-Hindus and Caste Non-Identifiers | 18.9% |
| Missing Data | 5.7% |
| **HOME OWNERSHIP** | |
| Owner | 63.6% |
| Renter | 29.0% |
| Missing Data | 7.5% |

TABLE NO. 1 CONT'D

| FAMILY ANNUAL INCOME IN 1976 | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| Under $10,000 | 1.9% |
| 10-15 | 7.0% |
| 15-20 | 12.1% |
| 20-25 | 22.0% |
| 25-30 | 14.5% |
| 30-35 | 21.0% |
| 50+ | 16.4% |
| Missing Data | 5.1% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |

| HIGHEST EDUCATION BEFORE ENTERING UNITED STATES | |
|---|---|
| Some College | 5.1% |
| Bachelor's Degree | 39.7% |
| Master/Ph.D. | 25.2% |
| Professional Degree | 22.9% |
| Missing Data | 7.0% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |

| AMERICAN EDUCATION | |
|---|---|
| Some College | 4.7% |
| Bachelor's Degree | 4.2% |
| Master | 32.7% |
| Ph.D. | 28.0% |
| Non-Degree Training | 6.5% |
| No American Education | 11.7% |
| Missing Data | 12.1% |

| FAVORITE INDIAN POLITICAL PARTY | |
|---|---|
| Congress | 27.6% |
| Janata | 19.2% |
| Other Parties | 8.9% |
| Missing Data | 44.4% |

| FAVORITE AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTY | |
|---|---|
| Democrat | 60.3% |
| Republican | 10.7% |
| Other | 3.7% |
| Missing Data | 25.2% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |

V

## DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED BY OVERSEAS INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

What sort of discriminations are experienced by the Overseas Indians in the United States? Is there such a thing as Anti-Indian feeling among the people in the United States? In the absence of mass-level attitudinal data, it is difficult to answer these questions. In the case of the present study, an attempt was made by asking survey questions to our respondents.[27]

Discrimination is a rather sensitive question. In particular, the first generation immigrant minority is likely to be concerned about a survey of this nature. There may be fears about the disclosure of their identity in survey results. A Chicago based study in this area ran into response problems while interviewing South Asian immigrants.[28]

The Table No. 2 tabulates the responses of the Overseas Indians with regard to their experiences in the United States. It seems within a varying degree some Indians indicated having expected discrimination in the United States. The highest percentage is indicated in the administrative job category. The second highest is in the technical job category. These two response patterns suggest that in general that most Indians are probably discriminated in the job market. The level of discrimination is clearly higher in the case of administrative jobs as compared to the technical jobs.

TABLE NO. 2

TYPES OF DISCRIMINATIONS EXPERIENCED BY THE OVERSEAS INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

(N = 212)

| TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **RENTAL HOUSING** | |
| Yes | 16.8% |
| No | 70.1% |
| Not Sure | 7.5% |
| Missing Data | 5.6% |
| **BUYING HOME** | |
| Yes | 5.1% |
| No | 75.7% |
| Not Sure | 7.9% |
| Missing Data | 11.2% |
| **JOINING SOCIAL GROUPS** | |
| Yes | 8.9% |
| No | 53.3% |
| Not Sure | 24.0% |
| Missing Data | 13.1% |
| **GETTING TECHNICAL JOBS** | |
| Yes | 22.0% |
| No | 47.7% |
| Not Sure | 17.8% |
| Missing Data | 12.6% |
| **GETTING ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS** | |
| Yes | 36.0% |
| No | 30.8% |
| Not Sure | 20.1% |
| Missing Data | 13.1% |
| **START BUSINESS/PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE** | |
| Yes | 14.5% |
| No | 48.1% |
| Not Sure | 21.5% |
| Missing Data | 15.9% |

TABLE NO. 2 CONT'D

| ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTE | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| Yes | 10.3% |
| No | 68.2% |
| Not Sure | 12.1% |
| Missing Data | 9.3% |
| **ORGANIZING RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES** | |
| Yes | 7.5% |
| No | 51.9% |
| Not Sure | 21.5% |
| Missing Data | 19.2% |
| **DISCRIMINATED IN OTHER SITUATIONS** | |
| Yes | 12.1% |
| No | 9.8% |
| Not Sure | 5.1% |
| Missing Data | 72.9% |

VI

## SOME CORRELATES OF JOB RELATED DISCRIMINATIONS

In this section we shall explore the relationships between job related discriminations experienced by the Overseas Indians and their background attributes.

Firstly, Table No. 3 provides a cross-tabulation between the American educational background of the respondents and their job discrimination experience. Although only a small number of respondents had earned a bachelor's degree in the United States none of them report any job related discrimination in the technical job category and only 12% of them indicated such discrimination in the Administrative Category.

The proportion of respondents with no job-related discrimination consistently goes higher with higher level of education. In the category

of non-degree training 75% reported no discrimination. This category has mostly doctors, dentists and veterinarians. Among the respondents with no American education the level of job related discrimination experience seems to be the highest.

Another interesting trend is consistently higher level of discrimination in the administrative job category compared with the technical job category.

TABLE NO. 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR EXPERIENCE IN JOB DISCRIMINATION

| TYPE OF JOB DISCRIMINATION | BACHELOR'S DEGREE N=10 | MASTER'S N=9 | Ph.D. N=62 | NON-DEGREE TRAINING N=12 | NO AMERICAN EDUCATION N=20 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TECHNICAL JOBS | | | | | |
| Discriminated | 0% | 25% | 22% | 16.7% | 45% |
| Not Discriminated | 66.7% | 54% | 54% | 75% | 40% |
| Not Sure | 33.3% | 19% | 24% | 8.3% | 15% |
| ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS | | | | | |
| Discriminated | 12.5% | 49.2% | 43.4% | 25% | 60% |
| Not Discriminated | 37.5% | 32.2% | 26.4% | 50% | 40% |
| Not Sure | 50% | 18.6% | 30.2% | 25% | 0% |

The Table No. 4 examines the relationship between the occupational background of the survey respondents and their job related discrimination experience. In general, it appears that the great majority of Engineers (55%) reported no discrimination in getting technical jobs. Seventy percent of the executives and managers also reported no discrimination in getting technical jobs. However, over a quarter of the academics and scientific professionals reported experiencing discrimination in getting technical jobs. When one examines the comparable data in the administrative job category there is considerable increase in the percentage of respondents who reported experiencing discrimination in getting administrative jobs.

It is particularly important to note that a majority of the academic respondents (52%) reported discrimination in this category.[29] About a third (30%) of the Engineers and scientific workers also report similar experiences. Among the doctors category also there is considerable increase (from 18% to 30%). Even in the category of Executives/Managers the portion of reported job discrimination rises from 0% to 40%.

TABLE NO. 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND
OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR EXPERIENCE WITH JOB DISCRIMINATION

| EXPERIENCE WITH DISCRIMINATION | ACADEMIC N=53 | DOCTORS, ETC. N=43 | ENGINEERS N=36 | SCIENTIFIC WORKERS N=19 | TEACHERS N=11 | EXECUTIVES N=10 | ALL RESPONDENTS N=212 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TECHNICAL JOBS | | | | | | | |
| Experienced Discrimination | 26.4% | 18.6% | 19.4% | 26.3% | 18.2% | 0% | 21.2% |
| Did Not Experience | 35.8% | 55.8% | 55.6% | 36.8% | 36.4% | 70% | 48.1% |
| Not Sure | 26.4% | 16.3% | 22.2% | 21.1% | 9.1% | 0% | 17.9% |
| ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS | | | | | | | |
| Experienced Discrimination | 52.8% | 30.2% | 36.1% | 36.8% | 27.3% | 40% | 35.8% |
| Did Not Experience | 18.9% | 44.2% | 13.9% | 21.1% | 0% | 30% | 30.7% |
| Not Sure | 20.8% | 16.3% | 36.1% | 26.3% | 27.3% | 10% | 20.3% |

VII

## CORRELATES OF DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED IN JOINING SOCIAL GROUPS

As the general distribution indicated in Table No. 2 only a small percentage of the Overseas Indians reported experiencing discrimination in joining non-Indian social groups. It seems to pursue this analysis at some greater length by examining the relationship of certain independent variables to this experience in joining social groups.

Table No. 5 provides an overview of the relevance of some of these variables. Looking at the variable of homeownership it appears that none of the renter respondents report any experience in joining non-Indian social as opposed to about 14.8% homeowners. The data on income provides somewhat similar picture. As the level of income rises one observes steady increase in the discrimination experience. Those in the 20-25 thousand income bracket report highest percentage of discrimination experience (15%) and even those who are in 50+ income bracket 12% report similar experience.

The American educational background shows some interesting relationship to the experience in discrimination. Those with no American education, only 4.5% report experiencing discrimination. And those having American bachelor's degree have none in this category. The highest percentage of people (13%) reporting discrimination are among the doctorates and next highest comes in the case of master's degree holders.

It seems those with no American education and having less income and the renters have least experience in social group related discrimination. The higher level of discrimination against the doctorates and master's degree holders seems surprising. It is possible to explain this in another

way. Are these people more perceptive in identifying a discrimination experience? Are these people joiners as compared to the others who may be more "self-segregating"[30] and as such do not seek to expand their social activities to non-Indian social groups.

TABLE NO. 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN JOINING NON-INDIAN SOCIAL GROUP AND SELECTED VARIABLES

| | HOMEOWNERS | | ANNUAL INCOME | | | | | | | AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION | OWNER N=122 | RENTER N=48 | UNDER $10,000 N=3 | 10-15 N=13 | 15-20 N=20 | 20-25 N=40 | 25-30 N=31 | 30-50 N=37 | 50+ N=32 | SOME COLL. N-9 | BACHELOR N=9 | MASTER N=58 | PH.D. N=53 | NON DEGREE N=11 | NONE N=22 |
| YES | 14.8% | 0% | 0% | 7.7% | 5% | 15% | 9.7% | 8.1% | 12.5% | 11.1% | 0% | 10.3% | 13.2% | 9.1% | 4.5% |
| NO | 59.0% | 62.5% | 33.3% | 46.2% | 55% | 62.5% | 51.6% | 67.6% | 71.9% | 55.6% | 77.8% | 56.9% | 64.2% | 72.7% | 54.5% |
| NOT SURE | 26.2% | 37.5% | 66.7% | 46.2% | 40% | 22.5% | 38.7% | 24.3% | 15.6% | 33.3% | 22.2% | 32.8% | 22.6% | 18.2% | 40.9% |

## VIII

## PROTECTED CLASS STATUS AND ATTITUDINAL VARIATIONS AMONG OVERSEAS INDIANS

Given the level of job related discrimination experienced by the Overseas Indians in the United States it seems pertinent to explore their attitudes toward a protected class status. The early East Indians were not classified as Caucasians and their legal struggle to be classified as such has been well documented.[31] In recent years, there has been some attempt to classify the Indians as a minority group. The Association of Indians in America has made a consistent effort to bring about the classification of the Indians as "Asian Indians" beginning 1980 census. This would confer legal minority status upon the Overseas Indians.[32]

The survey questionnaire included an open-ordeal question about the protected class status of the Indians in the United States. The responses were coded as (1) supportive, (2) supportive with reservations, (3) unsupportive. The general finding was only 25% of the respondents were supportive of this. Another 9.4% were supportive with reservations. Around 38% clearly opposed such classification and the remaining survey respondents either did not comprehend the question or failed to answer the question.

These variations in the attitudinal orientations of the survey respondents were related to a number of variables. Table No. 6 cross-tabulates the job discrimination related experiences of the survey respondents and their attitudes toward the protected class status. In the category of technical jobs, those who did not experience discrimination only about 16% support the idea of protected class status. This is in some control with the responses of those who experienced discrimination in getting a

technical job. Their level of support is much higher (nearly twice: 31%). This pattern is generally consistent with the administrative job experience also.

TABLE NO. 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PROTECTED CLASS STATUS AND EXPERIENCE WITH JOB DISCRIMINATION

(in percentages)*

| ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PROTECTED CLASS STATUS | ALL RESPONDENTS N=212 | TECHNICAL JOB DISCRIMINATION | | | ADMINISTRATIVE JOB DISCRIMINATION | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | EXPERIENCED N=45 | DID NOT EXPERIENCE N=102 | NOT SURE N=38 | EXPERIENCED N=76 | DID NOT EXPERIENCE N=65 | NOT SURE N=43 |
| SUPPORTIVE | 25.9% | 31.1% | 16.7% | 36.8% | 28.9% | 21.5% | 27.9% |
| SUPPORTIVE WITH RESERVATION | 9.4% | 13.3% | 7.8% | 5.3% | 10.5% | 9.2% | 9.3% |
| UN-SUPPORTIVE | 38.2% | 28.9% | 43.1% | 42.1% | 36.8% | 40.0% | 37.2% |

* Percentages do not total 100.0% due to the exclusion of non-response categories.

Table No. 7 provides a cross-tabulation between three major social background variables and the orientations of the respondents toward protected class status. These three major variables are (1) spouse ethnicity, (2) caste identification, and (3) religion identification. Some very interesting patterns seem to emerge from this data.

The respondents with western spouse seem significantly less supportive of protected class status. Whereas a total of about 37% of such respondents are supportive of protected class status with or without reservation of much higher percentage of those with Indian spouse (over 50%) are supportive of the protected class status (with or without reservation).

Caste identification and religion identification variables also indicate a strong relationship. Particularly important is the case of the Caste and Religion resenters. It seems a very high percentage of these groups (44% and 75%) are not supportive of the protected class status for the Indians. On the other hand about a third of the caste and religion identifiers are supportive of such a status. A majority of the religion non-identifier (66%) oppose the idea and also a majority of caste non-identifiers (56%) also oppose the idea. These trends might indicate that these caste and religious identity rejectors may see the protected class status as caste like structure.

TABLE NO. 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD
PROTECTED CLASS STATUS AND SELECTED BACKGROUND VARIABLES

(in percentages)*

| ORIENTATIONS toward PROTECTED CLASS STATUS | SPOUSE ETHNICITY | | CASE IDENTIFICATION | | | RELIGION IDENTIFICATION | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | WESTERN N=29 | INDIAN N=53 | IDENTIFIER N=132 | NON-IDENTIFIER N=39 | RESENTER N=9 | IDENTIFIER N=143 | NON-IDENTIFIER N=30 | RESENTER N=8 |
| SUPPORTIVE | 27.6% | 39.6% | 32.6% | 15.4% | 22.2% | 32.2% | 13.3% | 25% |
| SUPPORTIVE WITH RESERVATION | 10.3% | 11.3% | 10.6% | 12.8% | 11.1% | 11.2% | 13.3% | 0% |
| UN-SUPPORTIVE | 6.9% | 13.2% | 38.6% | 56.4% | 44.2% | 35.7% | 66.7% | 75% |

* Some columns do not total 100.0% due to the exclusion of non respondents.

Another somewhat intriguing pattern in this respect emerger from Table No. 8 which cross-tabulates the attitudinal orientations and American educational background of the respondents. Nearly 70% of the respondents are opposed to the idea of protected class status! Among the persons with American Education those having doctorate degrees have the highest level of support for protected class status (31%).

TABLE NO. 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PROTECTED CLASS STATUS AND AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

(in percentages)*

| ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PROTECTED CLASS STATUS | AMERICAN EDUCATION | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | MASTERS N=62 | PH.D. N=54 | NO AMERICAN EDUCATION N=23 |
| SUPPORTIVE | 21.0% | 31.5% | 21.7% |
| SUPPORTIVE WITH RESERVATION | 9.7% | 16.7% | 8.7% |
| UNSUPPORTIVE | 50% | 33.3% | 69.6% |

* Percentages in some columns do not total 100.0% due to the exclusion of non-respondents.

Table No. 9 examines the relationship between the caste hierarchy and the orientations of the respondents toward protected class status. One would anticipate that the Brahmin respondents would be less supportive of a protected class status for the Indians in the United States. In fact, this does not turn out to be the case. In comparison with the Non-Brahmin Hindu respondents, the Brahmins seem more supportive of this (31% as against 25%). However, when qualified support and firm support is taken together the level of support among Non-Brahmins rises much higher (Brahmin 42% - Non-Brahmins 38%). As to the Non-Hindus and Caste non-identifiers, their level of support for the protected class is slightly higher than the Brahmins and Caste-identifying Non-Brahmins.

Based on this trend in the data one might hazard a suggestion that in general, Caste hierarchy and orientation toward protected class status do not indicate a very significant relationship. Non-Hindu and Caste non-identify group, however, is generally more supportive of this. Given the weakness of caste data in this study it seems more appropriate to pursue the relevance of other independent variables associated with the attitudinal orientation.

TABLE NO. 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASTE HIERARCHY AND ORIENTATIONS TOWARD PROTECTED CLASS STATUS

| ORIENTATIONS | BRAHMINS N=38 | NON-BRAHMINS N=108 | NON-HINDUS AND CASTE NON-IDENTIFIERS N=33 | ALL RESPONDENTS N=179 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SUPPORTIVE | 31.6% | 25.0% | 38.7% | 25.5% |
| SUPPORTIVE WITH RESERVATION | 10.5% | 13.0% | 6.5% | 11.2% |
| UNSUPPORTIVE | 42.1% | 40.7% | 45.2% | 41.9% |

* Percentages do not total 100.0% due to the exculsion of non-response and other response categories.

## IX

## CONCLUSIONS

In this working paper, we have examined a limited set of preliminary findings from an on-going study. This implies the tentative nature of the conclusions presented in this section. Nevertheless, the paper identifies a few trends that deserve some serious attention by those who are interested in the subject.

Firstly, the study has indicated the feasibility of conducting survey research among a widely scattered American ethnic group. Considering the mail survey the response rate has been unusually high. This could be due to the background attributes of the group surveyed and

its elitist orientation. Perhaps the rate of response could have been still higher if the study would have been an anonymous one. A significant proportion of the respondents had erased their identity from the return envelope indicating their desire to be anonymous. It seems plausible to suggest that among those who did not return the questionnaire, these are individuals we would have also preferred an anonymous survey. Some of the first generation immigrants are probably apprehensive to the abuse of survey research. A Yugoslov scholar reports similar problems in a comparable study.[33]

The methodological experience of this study also poses another issue. The response rate in this survey seemed much higher than the experience of at least two other studies involving the Indian respondents. A variety of factors may have contributed to this situation. The questions used in the study included many "hot issues" of Indian politics and the out of the Indian elections had probably created a greater concern for the Indian affairs. The ethnic identity of the research may have had something to do with the higher response rate.

The specific substantive findings of this survey deserves some analytical commentary. The group as a whole projects a profile very different from the general population profile of the people of India. It suggests further evidence to the claim of the other researcher that those who immigrate overseas tend to be different from the native population.[34] Further, this group of Overseas Indians is very different from the early East Indians who had settled in the Pacific Coast. It is likely that this group was highly westernized long before entering the coast of the United States in terms of education and attitudinal orientation..[35] In this sense, despite their labels as new immigrants this

group simply does not need the kind of services that are needed by the new immigrants of other kinds.[36]

Their experience in discrimination suggests a varied pattern. A minority of them report experiencing discrimination in American Society in different situations. Most salience experience relate to the job market. Perhaps they feel more discriminated when they are denied administrative jobs.

Most Overseas Indians do not seem supportive of a protected class status for the Indians in the United States.[37] Perhaps the spectre of caste ridden Indian society haunch these people. They probably see such a system in terms of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe quota in India. Yet, there is a sizeable minority among the group that supports the protected class concept for the Overseas Indians.

The present study provides another way of looking at the Indian professionals in the United States. Some researchers have expressed their genuine concern about the brain drain from India to the western countries in general and to the United States in particular. But this group of Indian professionals have come here to stay even though some of them may have utilized the circuitous path of graduate study and post-doctoral research for entering the United States.

Finally, the present study primarily analyzed the orientations of Overseas Indians in the United States. It seems pertinent to explore the orientations of Americans toward these new immigrants. How do the American employers look at the Overseas Indians as employees? How do the Americans look at these immigrants as neighbors, friends, colleagues and in diverse other role relations? Such questions may be answered through systematic empirical research.[38]

FOOTNOTES

1. A short but select bibliography of historical studies on American immigration may be found in Henry S. Commager, Immigration and American History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), pp. 157-161.
2. For example see bibliography in Commager ibid.
3. For example S. M. Tomasi and C. B. Kelly Whom We Have Welcomed: The Adequacy and Quality of United States Immigration Data for Policy Analysis and Evaluation, (Staten Island: Center for Migration Studies, 1975) and Kenneth Willis, Problems in Migration Analysis (Lexington: Heath, 1974).
4. For a collection of Sociological Studies on Migration see J. A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969). A psychological perspective of immigrants may be seen in Charles Zwingmann and Maria Ammende, Uprooting and After (New York: Springer, 1973).
5. On the history of Indian migrations overseas see Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration, (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 338-342 and G. Findlay Shirras, "Indian Migration" in Walter Wilcox (ed.), International Migrations, Vol. II. (London: Gordon and Breach, 1969), pp. 591-616.
6. Gary Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States," in Akira Iriye (ed.), The Asian American (Santa Barbara: American Bibliographica Center, 1976), pp. 157-178. Also see Jogesh Misrow, East Indian Immigration on the Pacific Coast, (San Franciso: R and E Research Associates, 1971). Also see a

bibliography on East Indians in Bruce La Brack, "The East Indian Experience" in Asians in North America, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Davis (in press) and a synoptic paper by Joan Jensen, "East Indians," 1977.

7. Hugh Tinker, The Banyan Tree: Overseas Emigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, (London: Oxford, 1977).

8. Literature on Asians in Britain is massive. Some major works include the following: Christopher Bagley, "A Survey of Problems reported by Indian and Pakistani immigrants to Britain," RACE, July 1969, pp. 65-76; Community Relations Commission, Between Two Cultures: A Study of relationships between generations in the Asian Community in Britain, (London: Community Relations Commission, 1976); W. W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England, (London: Penguin, 1968); Benjamin Heinemann, Jr., The Politics of the Powerless, (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1972); Dilip Hiro, "The Colonial Man's View of the British," in Race and Immigration: A New Society Social Studies Reader, (London: New Society, 1976); A. M. Kallarackal and Martin Herbert," The Happiness of Indian Immigrant Children," New Society, February 26, 1976, pp. 442-427; Krishna Kumar, "A Child and a Stranger: On Growing Out of English Culture," in Bhikhh Parekh ed.), The Immigrant Intellectuals, (London: 1976); Duncan Scott, "West Pakistanis in Huddersfield," New Community, Winter 1972-73, pp. 38-43; Michael Lyon, "Ethnicity and Gujrati Indians in Britain," New Community, Winter 1972-73, pp. 1-11; Rohit Barot, "VARNA, MAT-JAT and ATAK among Kampala Hindus," New Community, Winter-Spring, 1974, pp. 59-66; Ned Levine, "Modes of Adaptation by Asian Immigrants in Slough," New Community, Autumn

1975, pp. 356-365; F. M. Bhatti, "Language Difficulties and Social Isolation: The Case of South Asian Women in Britain," New Community Summer 1976, pp. 118-119; A. Little et.al., "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools," RACE, Vol 9 No. 4, 1968, pp. 439-52.

9. Some selected studies on Overseas Indians elsewhere include the following: S. Arasaratnam, Indians in Malayasia and Singapore, (London: 1970); Aghedanand Bharati, The Asians in East Africa: Jaihind and Uhurh, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); N. R. Chakravarty, The Indian Minority in Bhima: The Rise and Decline of an Immigrant Minority, (London: Oxford, 1971); Ravindra K. Jain, South Indians on the Plantation Frontiers in Malaya, (New Haven: Yale, 1970); Adrian Mayer, Peasants in the Pacific: Fiji Indian Society, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Kannaur Chandras, Racial Discrimination in Canada, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1976); Michael Twaddle (ed.), Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians, (London: Athlom, 1975); Nasser-bushi Mehrum, "Differential Adjustment between Two Indian Immigrant Communities in Toronto: Sikhs and Ismallis," Ph.D. dissertation University of Colorado, 1974; Yogendra Malih, East Indians in Trinidad, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

10. Joan Jensen, "East Indians" 1977. Specially see the sections dealing with post-1965 immigrants.

11 Writings reflecting American attitudes toward the early East Indian immigrants in the United States may be found in the following. This author is thankful to Professor Bruce La Brach for providing the annotations on these rare sources.

Agnes F. Buchanan, "The West and the Hindu Invasion," Overland Monthly, November 1907, pp. ; Fred Lockley, "The Hindu Invasion," The Pacific Monthly, May 1907, pp. 584-595; Herman Scheffauer, "Tide of Turbans," Forum, June 1910, pp. 616-618; "The Hindu: The Filth of Asia," The White Man, August 1910, pp. ; "Hindus too Brunette to vote here," Literary Digest, March 10, 1923, p. 13.

12. Joan Jensen (1977), op.cit. Also see Jogesh Misrow, East Indian Immigrants on the Pacific Coast, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971).

13. Gary Hess (1976), op.cit.

14. Such indicators are seen from Mahendra Doshi, Who is Who Among Indians in North America, (New York: Who is Who Among Indians, 1975).

15. There are some scholarly studies and journalistic writings about the new immigrants from India. These include the following: (a) studies on Indian students; (b) journalistic writings and (c) systematic studies with limited circulates. The studies exclusively dealing with the Indian students in American universities are as follows: George Coelho, Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958); Richard Lambert and Marvin Bressler, Indian Students on an American Campus, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); Alan Katz, "Changing Indian Students' Perceptions of the Indian Government," Asian Survey, March 1977, pp. 264-274; Gurbachan Paul, "The Stay on Return Decisions of Indian Students: A special case of International Migration," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1972; John Niland, The Asian Engineering Brain Drain, (Lexington: Heath, 1970); Tai K. Oh, The Asian Brain Drain, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977); Rajnikant Gandhi, "Little India: Localism and

cosmopolitanism in an Indian Student Colony," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1967. Another category of journalistic writings about the new Indian immigrants include the following:

Jaya Thadani, "Indians in Washington," Illustrated Weekly of India, August 5, 1973, pp. 47-49; Khalid Shah, "Indians in New York," Illustrated Weekly of India, April 22, 1973, pp. 19-22; M.V. Kamath, "Puja, Pantsuit and Lata Mangheskar," Times of India, 1977, p

Lastly there are a few scholarly studies about the new immigrants. Most of these are scattered as working papers, dissertations and monography with limited circulation. These include the following:

Parmathma Saran, "Cosmopolitans from India," Society, Sept/Oct. 1977

16. Bruce La Brack, op.cit.
17. La Brack, Ibid.
18. For example see Misrow (1971), op.cit.
19. See Note 11 above.
20. D. P. Pandia and Karladeri, "Justice for Hindus in America," The Christian Century, March 13, 1940, p. 357; Sant Singh, "Discrimination Against Sikhs in Canada," Sikh Review, September 1972, pp. 24-33.
21. For some theoretical writings on immigrants and race relations see the following: Emory Bogardus, "A Race Relations Cycle," American Journal of Sociology, January 1930, pp. 612-617; I.A. Newby (ed), The Development of Segregationist Thought, (Homewood: Free Press, 1952); Roger Ballard, "Ethnicity: Theory and Experience," New Community, Autumn 1976, pp. 196-202; Michael Banton, Race Relations (New York: Basic Books, 1967) and Michael Lyon, "Ethnic Minority Problems: An Overview of Some Current Research," New Community, Autumn 1973, pp. 329-352; James Beaudry, "The Melting Pot-Myth or

Reality," National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology, July 1973, pp. 37-50.

22. For a typological analysis of institutional discrimination see Joe Feagin, "Indirect Institutional Discrimination," American Politics Quarterly, April 1977, pp. 177-200.

23. The major source for this listing was Mahendra Doshi (1975), op.cit.

24. Mail survey as a research technique has greatly improved. Some innovations in mail surveys have been suggested in the following: James House, et.al., "Increasing Mail Questionnaire Response," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1977, pp. 95-99.

25. A study on the partisan identification in India may be found in Samuel J. Eldersveld, "Party Identification in India," Comparative Political Studies, October 1973, pp. 271-295; and Manindra K. Mohapatra, "Partisan Identification and Orientation Toward Politicians," International Behavioral Scientist (forthcoming).

26. For comparative data on other immigrants see Kristian Hvidt, Flight to America: The Social Background of Danish Immigrants, (New York: Academic Press, 1975); Hyung-Chan Kim, "Some Aspects of Social Demography of Korean Immigrants," International Migration Review, Spring 1974, pp. 23-42; Daphne Phillips, "The Effect of Immigration on the Family," British Journal of Sociology, June 1975, pp. 218-226.

27. The report of a comparable study in Chicago area may be found in Hekmat Elkhanialy and Ralph Nicholas, 'Racial and Ethnic Self-designation, Experience of Discrimination and desire for legal minority status among Indian immigration in the USA," in Elkhanialy and Nicholas (1976), op.cit.

28. Ibid.

29. This may have something to do with the development of academics. A conceptual view of professional development may be found in the Harold Hodgkinson, "Adult Development: Implications for Faculty and Administrators," Educational Record, Fall 1974, pp. 263-274. Also see Edward Shils, "The Immigrant Intellectual," in Bhikhu Parekh (ed.), Colon, Culture and Consciousness: Immigrant Intellectual in Britain, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974).

30. A discussion about the "self-segregating" trend among some Overseas Indians may be found in Michael Lyon, "Ethnic Minority Problems: An Overview of Some Recent Resear ," New Community, Autumn 1973, p. 347.

31. On this question the following sources provided detailed information: U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Immigration. TO PERMIT THE NATURALIZATION OF APPROXIMATELY THREE THOUSAND NATIVES OF INDIA. Hearing before a sub-committee of the Committee on Immigration, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, in Senate Bile 1595. September 13 and 14, 1944. (Reference cited in Bruce La Brach's Bibliography, op.cit).

32. For discussion of the issue of classification of Overseas Indians in 1980 census see India Abroad, April 8, 1977, p. 5.

33. Branko M. Colakovic, Yugoslav Migration to America, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1973), pp. 164-170.

34. Victor Ujimoto, "Contrasts in the Pre-War and Post-War Japanese Community in British Columbia," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, February 1976, pp. 80-89; and Daphne Phillips, "The Effect of Immigration on the Family: The Case of Malians in Rural Australia," British Journal of Sociology, June 1975, pp. 216-218.

35. Useem and Useem, Western Educated Men of India.

36. See Victor Ujimoto (1976) footnote 34 above.

37. Compare with the similar finding in a limited study Chinese Immigrants. See Dean Lan, Prestige with Limitations: Realm of the Chinese American Flite, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1976).

38. For comparable studies see the following: Casiano P. Coloma, A Study of the Filipion Repatriation Movement, (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974); Roger Harris, et.al., "Anglo-Australian Views of Ethnics," Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, June 1973, pp. 148-151; Mary Jackman, "Prejudice, Tolerance and Attitudes Toward Ethinc Groups," Social Science Research, June 1977, pp. 145-169; Ruth Johnston, "Western Australian Employer's Attitudes Toward Immigrant Workers," Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, February 1974, pp. 59-60; Alan Marsh, "Race, Community and Anxiety," New Society, February 1973, pp. 406-408.